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743/158 cont. / a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawé the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampung.

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The kawe kawé did not disappear with the disappearance of the bissu institution, however. At present, insofar as they did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampung fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

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/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

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In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and women in kampung Bontoramba, it must first be indicated who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

114 /159 cont./ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls
589 is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of
885 adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen
or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. Ibid., p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass
(soera' kampong). This implies that they are also called for
community labor. At that time they are approximately
eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria,
which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults
at a later age than women.

114 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried
589 men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2
per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained
that the average age at which marriages are contracted is
higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of
the age at which people are married, an explanation like this
is premature.

589 The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather
to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and
women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants
/160/ at different points in time, with respect to each un-
married person, one by one, whether according to them they
still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and
24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would
never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These
15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or
older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.